

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL NATO CAPITALS
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T STATE 196411

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, US, NL
SUBJECT: ATLANTIC DECLARATION: DISCUSSIONS WITH
AMBASSADORS OF EC COUNTRIES ON DAVID BINDER SEPTEMBER 30
ARTICLE IN NEW YORK TIMES

1. ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESEL CALLED IN AMBASSADORS
OF EC NINE COUNTRIES TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS
CONCERNING SEPTEMBER 30 NY TIMES ARTICLE BY DAVID
BINDER (SEPTTEL). (STOESEL ALSO GAVE AMBASSADORS
COPIES OF US SUGGESTED REVISION OF EC DRAFT DECLARATION
AND TALKING POINTS USED AT SEPTEMBER 29 MEETING WITH
EC POL DIRECTORS. THESE BEING SENT SEPTTEL):

--WE HAVE NOTED BINDER ARTICLE REPORTING ON
VARIOUS EUROPEAN COMMENTS ON SECRETARY KISSINGER'S PRIVATE
CONVERSATIONS WITH EUROPEANS CONCERNING EC DECLARATION:

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--QUOTATIONS ATTRIBUTED TO THE SECRETARY IN HIS
PRIVATE MEETINGS IN NEW YORK ARE ESSENTIALLY CORRECT.

--HOWEVER, IF THE PRACTICE OF MAKING PUBLIC THE

SECRETARY'S PRIVATE REMARKS CONTINUES, WE WILL BE FORCED TO ISSUE A PUBLIC STATEMENT OF OUR OWN VIEWS ON THE PROPOSED DECLARATION.

--AS THE SECRETARY HAS OFTEN SAID, BOTH PUBLICLY

AND PRIVATELY, WE DO NOT DESIRE THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF A DECLARATION TO WHICH BOTH EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES CAN ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES SHOULD BECOME AN ADVERSARY PROCEEDING.

--THUS WE WOULD PREFER NOT TO BE FORCED TO MAKE PUBLIC OUR PRIVATE VIEWS ON THE CONTENT OF THE DECLARATION AS IT NOW STANDS.

--WE BELIEVE, THEREFORE, THAT OUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS SHOULD MAINTAIN A PUBLIC POSTURE WHICH, LIKE OUR OWN, INDICATES A COMMON DESIRE FOR POSITIVE RESULTS.

2. STOESSEL STRESSED THAT IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY MISUNDERSTANDING OF OUR VIEW OF THE DRAFT EC DECLARATION PRESENTED TO US, HE WISHED TO MAKE FOUR POINTS:

- THE UNITED STATES CONSIDERS RECENT PROGRESS TOWARD EUROPEAN UNITY AS AN HISTORICAL EVENT OF MAJOR SIGNIFICANCE, AND LOOKS WITH FAVOR UPON IT.

- WE DO, HOWEVER, HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT A PROCEDURE WHICH ENCOURAGES THE PRESENTATION OF FIRM POSITIONS WITHOUT PRIOR CONSULTATION, THUS MAKING ACCOMMODATION OF VIEWS MORE DIFFICULT. THESE RESERVATIONS ARE BEING MET TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT BY THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETINGS NOW TAKING PLACE, SUPPLEMENTED BY BILATERAL CONTACTS.

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- THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT CONSIDER THE SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT OF THE DRAFT DECLARATION, AS IT NOW STANDS, TO BE ADEQUATE TO OUR COMMON NEEDS.

- HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN US SHOULD CONTINUE IN A CONCILIATORY SPIRIT. TO THIS END, WE ARE PREPARED TO WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY WITH THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS FOR A POSITIVE RESULT. WE BELIEVE THAT THE MEETING IN NEW YORK ON SEPTEMBER 29 WAS A PRODUCTIVE STEP, AND LOOK FORWARD TO FURTHER PROGRESS IN COPENHAGEN ON OCTOBER 18.

3. STOESSEL SAID THAT WE WOULD APPRECIATE ASSURANCES

FROM OUR ALLIES THAT THE ATTITUDE HE HAD DESCRIBED AS PERTAINING TO THE UNITED STATES IN ITS APPROACH TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A DECLARATION IS ALSO THE ATTITUDE OF OUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS. IT IS THE VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES THAT THE PROCESS IN WHICH WE ARE NOW MUTUALLY

ENGAGED SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO DEGENERATE INTO AN ADVERSARY PROCEEDING WHICH COULD THREATEN THE ENTERPRISE.

4. IN MEETING WITH FRENCH AMBASSADOR KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET, STOESSEL MADE THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINTS:

--WE NOTICED THAT MR. BINDER QUOTED MINISTER JOBERT AS BEING "UNPLEASANTLY" SURPRISED THAT THE SECRETARY HAD MADE A PUBLIC STATEMENT IN NEW YORK ON THE IMPOTANCE OF THE DRAFT DECLARATION PRESENTED BY THE DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER.

--WE DOUBT THE ACCURACY OF THIS REPORT, SINCE THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER HAD ASKED THE SECRETARY, WHEN THEY MET IN NEW YORK, TO MAKE A STATEMENT ON EUROPEAN UNITY; AND HAD TOLD THE SECRETARY AT THE WALDHEIM DINNER THAT HE CONSIDERED THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENT VERY CONSTRUCTIVE.

5. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET ASSURED STOESSEL THAT, AS FAR AS BINDER STORY WAS CONCERNED, LEAKS DID NOT COME
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FROM FRENCH SIDE, AND THAT CHARACTERIZATION OF POSITION TAKEN BY JOBERT WITH PRESS WAS "COMPLETELY INACCURATE." HE HAD ATTENDED JOBERT'S MEETING WITH FRENCH PRESS SHORTLY AFTER KISSINGER'S PRESS CONFERENCE AND JOBERT HAD SAID HE WAS "VERY PLEASED" AT STATEMENTS ON US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS BY THE SECRETARY. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET SAID BINDER MAY HAVE CONFUSED JOBERT'S VIEWS ON OUTCOME OF KISSINGER-ANDERSEN MEETING (WHICH, HE IMPLIED, WERE MORE CRITICAL) WITH JOBERT'S FAVORABLE ASSESSMENT OF KISSINGER'S PRESS STATEMENT.

6. FRG AMBASSADOR VON STADEN SAID ARTICLE WAS "OUTRAGEOUS", AND FELT SUBSTANCE OF ARTICLE CONFLICTED WITH FACTS. ON NEED FOR SECRECY IN NEGOTIATIONS, STADEN SAID BRANDT WAS AS SENSITIVE TO PROBLEM OF LEAKS AS SECRETARY, AND STADEN SAID HE PERSONALLY ATTACHED TOO MUCH IMPORTANCE TO CONTACTS WITH SECRETARY TO JEOPARDIZE THESE IN ANY WAY BY LEAKS.

7. DANISH AMBASSADOR BARTELS SAID HE FOUND US POSITION ON BINDER STORY IN CONFLICT WITH US'S OWN CONDUCT IN RECENT MONTHS, AND REGRETTEED THAT US HAD NOT

CONSULTED ALLIES IN ADVANCE OF SECRETARY'S APRIL SPEECH. HE INDICATED HE WAS NOT AS SHOCKED OVER THIS INCIDENT AS US APPEARED TO BE. STOESSEL REPLIED THAT

THERE IS A MAJOR DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PROTECTING SENSITIVE INFORMATION DURING A NEGOTIATING PROCESS, LIKE THAT INVOLVING EC TEXT, AND ADVANCE CONSULTATIONS ON A POLICY SPEECH.

8. UK AMBASSADOR CROMER SAID STOESSEL'S PRESENTATION OF OFFICIAL USG CONCERN ON THAT ISSUE RECEIVED "LOUD AND CLEAR" AND STRESSED THAT, TO BEST HIS KNOWLEDGE, THIS WAS FIRST OCCASION CLASSIFIED ASPECTS OF NINE'S DELIBERATIONS HAD LEAKED TO PRESS.

9. ITALIAN AMBASSADOR ORTONA SAID HE WANTED SECRETARY TO KNOW THAT HE FOUND ENTIRE INCIDENT "DEPLORABLE." EC LUNCHEON REFERRED TO IN BINDER STORY WAS NOT ARRANGED TO "GANG UP" ON US, BUT HAD SECRET

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BEEN LONG-STANDING EC AFFAIR AT WHICH ITALY HAPPENED TO BE THE HOST ON THIS OCCASION. ORONA STRESSED THAT HE HAD NEVER MET BINDER. ORTONA SAID SUCH LEAKS ARE VERY DAMAGING TO ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY.

10. BELGIAN AMBASSADOR LORIDAN SAID HE HAD BEEN "SHOCKED" BY BINDER STORY. LORIDAN SAID BINDER WAS AN INTELLIGENT REPORTER, BUT THAT HE IS NOW "BURNED" AS FAR AS EC REPRESENTATIVES ARE CONCERNED.

11. DUTCH AMBASSADOR VAN LYNDEN SAID HE "GREATLY REGRETTED" PUBLICATION OF BINDER ARTICLE AND FELT THAT ARTICLE REPRESENTED "A VERY GREAT BREAK IN CONFIDENCE" ON BINDER'S PART. FURTHERMORE, CERTAIN ASPECTS OF ARTICLE WERE CLEARLY INACCURATE, PARTICULARLY THE IMPLICATION THAT THE EC LUNCHEON WAS HELD IN AN ATTEMPT TO "GANG UP" ON THE US.

12. IRISH CHARGE O'HEIDEAIN SAID HE WAS UNAWARE OF BINDER ARTICLE BUT FULLY SHARED US CONCERN OVER LEAKAGE PROBLEM, AND PROMISED TO CONVEY US VIEWS IMMEDIATELY TO DUBLIN.

13. LUXEMBOURG AMBASSADOR WAGNER UNABLE TO SEE STOESSEL DUE TO BEING OCCUPIED WITH FONMIN THORN VISIT. SECRETARY COVERED MUCH OF SAME GROUND, HOWEVER, IN HIS REMARKS TO THORN AND WAGNER DURING THEIR CALL AT DEPARTMENT OCTOBER 2.

KISSINGER

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